

Message Text

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APPROVED BY EUR:JEGOODBY
C:RHOPPER
D:SOXMAN (SUBS)
HA:KHILL
S/MS:CKAMMAN
NSC:GTREVERTON
EUR/RPM:SJLEDOGAR

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O 010032Z FAR 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 052049

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OCON, CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S
CONCLUDING SPEECH

1. DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS THAT DRAFTING IS PROCEEDING
ON SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DURING
CONCLUDING PLENARY SESSION. THIS MESSAGE PRESENTS OUR
GENERAL VIEWS ON THE USE AND CONTENT OF THE CONCLUDING
REMARKS AS WELL AS SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON THE FIRST DRAFT
WHICH WAS HAND CARRIED TO WASHINGTON. WE WOULD APPRECIATE
RECEIVING TEXT OF MOST RECENT DRAFT BY TELEGRAM AS SOON
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AS POSSIBLE.

2. WE CONCUR FULLY IN AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S VIEW THAT
CONCLUDING STATEMENTS BY WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL
PROVIDE IMPORTANT ELABORATION OF OUR GOALS IN WHAT HAS BEEN
A LONG AND COMPLICATED CONFERENCE. WE SEE THIS SPEECH AS

BECOMING THE BASIC US STATEMENT ON BELGRADE AND THE CSCE PROCESS AND BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT IT SHOULD RISE ABOVE THE CONTROVERSIES OF RECENT WEEKS, LAY OUT IN SUCCINCT FORM THE THINKING BEHIND AMERICAN STRATEGY AT BELGRADE AND PROVIDE A CONCRETE STATEMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THE

CSCE PROCESS OVER THE LONG TERM WHICH WILL REMAIN VALID AFTER THE HEAT OF CONTROVERSY HAS DISAPPEARED. GIVEN SOVIET EFFORTS TO BLAME THE UNITED STATES FOR THE FAILURE TO AGREE ON A CONCRETE FINAL DOCUMENT, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S SPEECH SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT IT IS THE SOVIETS WHO HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS IMPOSSIBLE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SPEECH SHOULD ADOPT A HARSH OR ACCUSATORY TONE VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS. THE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE ON OUR DISAPPOINTMENT THAT MORE WAS NOT ACHIEVED. THERE SHOULD ALSO BE A STRONG STATEMENT OF OUR CONVICTION THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS NOT BEEN A FAILURE AND THAT THE PRECEDENT SET IN BELGRADE WILL ENABLE US TO PURSUE WITH EVEN MORE VIGOR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PRACTICAL PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS TO COME.

3. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT THE FIRST DRAFT MADE AVAILABLE IN WASHINGTON IS A GOOD STARTING POINT FOR THE TYPE OF STATEMENT WHICH SHOULD BE MADE. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, HAVE THE FOLLOWING GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE TEXT:

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A. AS A GENERAL MATTER, WE BELIEVE THE TEXT CONCENTRATES TOO MUCH ON BASKET III ISSUES AND DOES NOT INCLUDE SUFFICIENT DISCUSSION OF US VIEWS ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES; CBMS AND DISARMAMENT AND BASKET II. THE VALID POINTS WE WISH TO MAKE ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WOULD, IN OUR VIEW COME THROUGH MORE STRONGLY IF PLACED MORE DIRECTLY IN THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF CSCE.

B. THE CASE ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WOULD ALSO BE STRENGTHENED IF DISCUSSION OF THE NEED TO IMPROVE AMERICAN PERFORMANCE WERE EXPANDED. THE EXAMPLES PROVIDED IN DEPUTY SECRETARY'S FEBRUARY 13 SPEECH BEFORE THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION MIGHT BE USEFUL IN THIS REGARD.

C. IN OUR VIEW, THE TONE OF SOME OF THE PASSAGES CRITICAL OF THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT CORRECT. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THIS STATEMENT SHOULD STEP BACK SOMEWHAT FROM THE DETAILS OF THE

BELGRADE MEETING AND PROVIDE A BROAD STATEMENT OF US VIEWS ON THE CONFERENCE. THERE SHOULD BE CRITICISM OF THE SOVIETS, BUT THE CRITICISM SHOULD NOT QUESTION THE BASIC MOTIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE BELGRADE MEETING AS IS SOMETIMES THE CASE IN THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF PAGE 5 AND THE REFERENCES TO THE

SOVIET UNION ON PAGE 7. THE TONE HERE IS HECTORING AND IN OUR VIEW OVERLY AGGRESSIVE, AND WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE SAME POINTS COULD BE MADE IN A MORE DETACHED FASHION. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE IMPLIED LINKAGE CONTAINED IN THE FIRST FULL PARAGRAPH OF PAGE 8 WOULD BEST BE DELETED.

D. ALTHOUGH REALIZING THE VALUE OF INDIVIDUAL NAMES
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TO ILLUSTRATE THE POINTS BEING MADE, WE WOULD URGE THAT SPECIFIC REFERENCES NOT BE INCLUDED IN A FASHION WHICH COULD APPEAR POLEMICAL. WE ARE AT THE MOMENT FACED WITH DISSATISFACTION ON THE PART OF SEVERAL NNA PARTICIPANTS AT THE LACK OF A SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. SOVIET CLAIMS THAT THE US HAS BEEN OVERLY ANTAGONISTIC COULD UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES FIND RECEPTIVE LISTENERS. WE SHOULD NOT DETRACT FROM THE STRONG RECORD ESTABLISHED DURING THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION BY PROVIDING THE SOVIETS WITH AN ADDITIONAL OPENING TO QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF OUR APPROACH. FORM IN WHICH NAMES ARE PRESENTLY INCLUDED COULD HAVE THIS RESULT. WE BELIEVE PRESENT DRAFT ALSO FOCUSSES TOO SPECIFICALLY ON NAMES OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS. TO ENSURE BALANCE, EXAMPLES FROM OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD ALSO BE MENTIONED.

E. THE DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES ON PAGES 4-8 WOULD IN OUR VIEW PROFIT FROM THE ADDITION OF REFERENCES TO PRACTICAL PROBLEMS WITH IMPLEMENTATION IN ADDITION TO PRINCIPLE VII COMMITMENTS. SINCE THE SPEECH IS DESIGNED TO LOOK MORE TO THE FUTURE THAN TO THE PAST, WE BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE REFERENCE BOTH TO THE NEED FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS AS WELL AS TO THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT LIVING UP TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE. IN DISCUSSING BASKET III ISSUES, IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL TO MEET INTERESTS OF NEUTRALS AND OUR ALLIES BY STRESSING OUR CONCERN FOR THE DETAILS OF SPECIFIC CHAPTERS AS WELL AS THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE INVOLVED. A POSITIVE STATEMENT ABOUT PROGRESS IN BASKET III IMPLEMENTATION BY EASTERN AS WELL AS WESTERN STATES COULD ALSO SERVE THIS PURPOSE.

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4. SINCE WE REALIZE THAT DRAFTING IS NOW UNDERWAY, WE WILL NOT COMMENT ON SPECIFIC PAGES OF THE FIRST DRAFT TEXT. ONE EXCEPTION IS THE QUOTE FROM PUSHKIN AT THE TOP OF PAGE 5. SEVERAL PERSONS IN THE DEPARTMENT HAVE QUESTIONED THE ADVISABILITY OF INCLUDING THIS SPECIFIC QUOTE WHICH SEEMS TO SUGGEST

THAT FREEDOM SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED BY ANY SYSTEM OF ORGANIZED SOCIETY, HOWEVER JUST. THIS CITATION COULD BE USED BY THE SOVIETS TO SUPPORT THEIR ARGUMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT INTERESTED IN SOCIAL ORDER AND THAT IN PROPAGATING ITS IDEAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS OUR ONLY AIM IS TO DESTROY SOCIETIES OF THE EAST, AND WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE DELETED.

5. DEPARTMENT LOOKS FORWARD TO SEEING LATEST DRAFT OF SPEECH AS SOON AS IT IS COMPLETED.

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